

Sacco and Vanzetti Sentenced To Death U. S. Supreme Court Forbids Union Boycott of Scab Goods

Putting Companies on Unfair
List Held as Violation
of Anti-Trust Law

The Sherman anti-trust law which has never effectively dissolved a trust and has actually justified and upheld the existence of several, has been established as an instrument to smash labor organizations, and perpetuate the servitude of the workers by a ruling this week of the majority members of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Never have the United States courts made a more dangerous assault on organized labor. If this precedent and piece of judicial legislation is carried out generally throughout the United States the open shop which has failed in the industrial struggle will be firmly established through the political power of the capitalist class and American labor will have no recourse but the building up of its own political power through its own political party.

Hits Stone Cutters
The details of this terrific blow against labor are given below:

Washington, D. C., April 11.—The

United States Supreme court today

(Cont. on page 3)

votes.

It was Mrs. Berger's third re-election to the board since she was first elected in 1909. On completion of her new term, Mrs. Berger will have served 21 consecutive years.

With the exception of Edward Schroeder, nonpartisan, who received 40,851 votes, Mrs. Berger, supported by nonpartisans and Socialists, received the highest number of votes cast for any school board candidate.

In nonpartisan wards she received a total of 18,347 votes, running second in the 19th, 22nd, 23rd and 16th wards, all nonpartisan.

In order of their standings, the number of votes cast for the victorious candidates on the basis of unofficial returns are as follows:

Edward Schroeder, nonpartisan, 40,853.

Mrs. Meta Berger, Socialist, 38,310.

Loyal Durand, nonpartisan, 32,541.

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Mehan, nonpartisan, 32,473.

Martin C. Baumann, Socialist, 32,132.

The Socialists have three holdovers and will have five members in the new school board.

Judge William F. Quick, Socialist candidate for judge of the civil court, received 37,929 to 38,876 votes for his "Nonpartisan" opponent in a county-wide poll. Judge Quick carried all Milwaukee city by 656 votes.

Socialists Elect Two to Milwaukee City School Board

**Militarists Would
Drown Senator for
Nicaragua Opinion**

WASHINGTON, D. C.—For declaring that the government was sacrificing the lives of American youths to protect the investments of a few, Senator King of Utah while on board the Transport St. Michael during his recent Central American tour, was abused by an officer and virtually threatened with being thrown overboard by a soldier.

Senator King's remarks were made during the course of a speech aboard the vessel after he had been detained from visiting Haiti. They referred to the administration's present military occupation of Nicaragua.

Following the speech a young army officer roundly berated the senator for his remarks.

One of the enlisted men who heard the exchange between Senator King and the officer then is alleged to have declared:

"What shall we do, lieutenant, throw him overboard?"

The incident has been referred to the War Department.

Cantonese Not to Blame At Nanking, Says American

(The American Appeal is indebted to The Nation, liberal New York publication, for the following version of the affair at Nanking, China, which seems, as this is being written, dangerously close to plunging the world into war. The following report of an American investigator brings out startlingly the fact that the ultimatum of the five leading imperialist powers to China over the Nanking affair, which may result in world-wide war, is based largely upon war propaganda, exaggerations and misrepresentations.)

NEW YORK—The only American killed at Nanking, J. E. Williams, Vice-President of Nanking University, was shot as he drew a revolver on the threatening Chinese soldiers, according to a report cabled to THE NATION from Shanghai. Four other Americans who were with Williams when the shooting occurred were not injured. G. A. Kennedy, an American resident in China and a graduate of the Columbia School of Journalism, is responsible for the statement. Mr. Kennedy went to Nanking for the purpose of investigating the outrage. His report states that there were over 27,000 soldiers of the Northern army in Nanking when the first Nationalist soldiers entered the city at 3 A. M. on the 24th of March, and that it is impossible therefore to hold the Nationalists responsible for what occurred.

The attacks on foreigners in the morning and afternoon of that day, resulting in the deaths of one American, two British, and one Japanese, and the looting of the consulates of those countries, cannot be conclusively fixed upon the Nationalist soldiers.

The first of the four foreign deaths, that of J. E. Williams, vice-president of Nanking University, occurred at 8 a. m. on the twenty-fourth. It has been proved that four other Americans were with Williams at the time the soldiers threatened. Williams drew his revolver and was immediately shot dead. The others were not hurt. The three other foreign deaths occurred in the late afternoon before the bombardment, which was at 4:30 p. m. The Nationalist general entered the city at 5:30.

The foreign houses burned or looted were all on the route taken by the Northerners in their efforts to escape from the city. Foreign houses were not the only houses looted. Hundreds of Chinese were robbed and many killed by the soldiers, presumably, again, Northerners running amuck.

The physical effects of the bombardment of the British and American war vessels are comparatively slight. About fifty Chinese houses were wrecked, and one foreign-inhabited home was demolished. The number of Chinese casualties was probably under one hundred. But this is uncertain, as they have not yet been recorded.

Clemenceau Won't Publish Facts He Says Will End War

PARIS—Georges Clemenceau, "the Tiger," again has refused to write his memoirs, according to the weekly magazine "Aux Ecoutes," which quoted the wartime premier as saying: "I have seen too much and know too much. If I wrote my memoirs not a man would go to war, even if the security of his country demanded it."

Not Ready Yet, "Too Ignorant,"

"Would Hurt Capital," Are

President's Arguments

Plainly breaking faith with the Filipino people in a most shameless manner by violating the sacred pledge given by the United States Government during the Spanish-American war that the United States would not violate the independence of the Filipino people, President Coolidge vetoed the measure passed by the Filipino legislature providing for a plebiscite to determine now if the Filipino people stand on the question of independence.

The President returned the bill to Governor-General Wood unsigned with a message that reads with all the sham arguments of capitalism and imperialism. By this act the President betrays a people who were our allies in war and whom we had solemnly sworn to liberate even the slender privilege of determining where they stand on the question of their own promised independence.

The message is a clumsy attempt to conceal the imperialistic fact that the Filipinos would favor independence and thus embarrass the American exploiters and plunderers of the Philippines Islands.

The following are a few of the

passages in this ignoble document. Each quotation from Coolidge is followed by its interpretation in brackets.

"The act does not make provision to canvass all the racial groups. The proposed referendum would be unconvincing and might create distrust and disturb business. (Don't disturb business by voting. Your vote would not convince us imperialists anyway.)

"Independence is an appealing word. Few people will vote against it. (Don't vote on independence. It might carry and embarrass us.)

"The Filipinos and their leaders are not generally informed as to the material assistance given to the islands by the United States and have no fair appreciation as to what the immediate withdrawal of the United States would mean." (Keep them in bondage until they develop a better appreciation of the blessings of being enslaved.)

"A vote on the abstract question of independence would be absolutely unfair to them and dangerous to their future welfare. (When they learn to appreciate slavery to foreigners they will then be ready for independence.)

"The revenues of the island would be totally inadequate to maintain a separate government." (We ought to hunt up every nation in the world unable to exist on current revenues and annex it. At present the list would include most of the nations including Great Britain, France and Italy, whose bills we are already paying.)

"The plebiscite ought to be dis-

couraged because it is part of the agitation in the islands that is dis-

couraging capital and labor and is

delaying the arrival of the day when

the Philippines will have overcome

the most the obvious present difficulty

in the way of an unaided government.

(Don't agitate your own interests.

Don't discourage capitalism and im-

perialism. The longer you leave

them alone to grab your country and

intrench themselves in your govern-

ment and industrial system the

quicker you will be free and indepen-

dent.)

U. S.-Armed Force

Starts Drive to

Crush Nicaragua

MANAGUA, Nicaragua—The con-

servative offensive began this after-

noon with an attack against the lib-

eral forces east of Tierra Azul. To-

night Gen. Bartolome Vizquez, field

commander in chief of the conserva-

tive forces, reported that 300 liberal

had been surrounded on Monte Bo-

nila hill, overlooking Tierra Azul.

The conservatives claim to be well

supplied with everything necessary

to carry on the offensive which, they

assert, will bring an end to the lib-

eral movement within a week.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti will die in the electric chair on July 10, 1927, if the tremendous storm of labor and liberal protest now rolling around the world and echoing through every civilized country does not save them.

The sentence was pronounced by Judge Webster Thayer of the Massachusetts Superior court following a decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court upholding Judge Thayer's refusal of a new trial to the victims.

There remain but two legal courses by which these prisoners may be saved from death. One is an application to the United States Supreme court on a writ of certiorari, the other is an appeal to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts to exercise executive clemency. The latter is being taken now.

FIRM, INELIGENT, DETERMINED PROTEST BY THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, BY ALL THE SOCIALIST AND LIBERAL FORCES, BY ALL LOVERS OF JUSTICE IN AMERICA AND THE WORLD MAY BE NECESSARY TO CONVINCE GOVERNOR FULLER THAT THE WORLD'S SENSE OF JUSTICE AND HUMANITY HAS BEEN VIOLATED AND THAT REFUSAL BY HIM TO LISTEN TO THE PLEA FOR MERCY WILL BRING DOWN ON HIS HEAD A WORLD-WIDE OUTRAGED PUBLIC OPINION.

Trial Adjudged Frame-Up

Millions throughout the world who have watched the trials and seven years persecution of Sacco and Vanzetti are firmly convinced that there has been a terrible miscarriage of justice. (Cont. on page 2)

From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

The Easy Way to End War

We are all opposed to war.

Then let us put an end to war and lose no time about it.

How? Easiest thing in the world.

LET THE CAPITALISTS DO THE FIGHTING!

Do that and there will never be another war. Not even a skirmish. They are not fools enough to go out and kill one another and the fools they hire for that purpose they hold in contempt.

The capitalists tell us it is patriotic to fight for your country and shed your blood for the flag. Very well! Let them set the example.

It is their country; they own it and therefore according to their logic it is their patriotic duty to fight and to die for it and be brought home riddled with bullets and covered with flowers as shining examples of patriotic duty to the youth of the nation.

It is one thing, ye uniformed slaves, to fight for your country and another thing to fight for Rockefeller's oil derricks.

You never had a country to fight for and never will have as much as an inch of one as long as you are fool enough to make a target of your bodies for the profit and glory of your masters.

Let the capitalists do their own fighting and furnish their own corpses and there will never be another war on the face of the earth.

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**Mexican Workers'
Loyalty Nips U. S.
Revolt Conspiracy**

Counter-revolution Flutters

Before Solid Ranks of
Labor and Army

Starting admissions by American

correspondents of capitalist news-

papers reveal the humiliating defeat

of the main plan upon which the

Coolidge-Kellogg administration has

been relying to coerce Mexico—the

over

NEWS AND VIEWS

Desperate War-Baiting by the Powers Imperils World

Two war acts of a startling nature by the world's five leading imperialist powers against Russia and China brought the world perils this week. Only the sensible and praiseworthy decision of the Soviet government to issue an act that if committed against any imperialist power would have precipitated a clash of arms within a week saved the world from autoliberation.

Only the forebearance of the revolutionary government of South China under conditions that would have caused a capitalist nation to ally its persecutors again saved the world. In both cases the workers of the powerful nations placed in a very try position refused to fight for the things that ordinarily provoke imperialist wars and have thus set an example for the future.

Bearing every mark of a deliberate conspiracy by the leading imperialist governments to bait and trap Russia in a declaration of war against northern China for the purpose, no act of destroying the soviet power, China, the tool of imperialism, with the full assent and connivance of the powers through the Dutch minister, head of the diplomatic corps, descended upon the Russian embassy, violating a precedent established by the imperialist powers, arresting many Russian and Chinese, seizing large quantities of documents and destroying property.

Following swiftly on the heels of this event White Russian troops of the former czar were stationed around the Russian consulate in Shanghai virtually holding the members of the consulate prisoners. This happened in the international settlement, a territory owned jointly by the imperialist powers. It could not have happened without their consent and connivance. It was an act of war against Russia.

Directly following these obvious attempts to draw Russia into an unequal war, came the highly provocative and insolent demands of the five leading powers on the Canton government growing out of the Nanking affair. Despite the fact that Chinese investigators and an American investigator, whose report is printed on page one, assert that the killing of foreigners occurred before the Cantonese army entered Nanking, the powers demand punishment of the murderers, abject apologies in writing, cash reparations and a humble promise that such acts will not be committed again. The revolutionary government of China must do these things or suffer the consequences.

This is a war ultimatum that leaves the Chinese government no alternative but to accept the powers' version of the incident, belie its own

Rise and Fall of the Ford Stores

After making a success of his system of organized mass distribution that started the merchants of Detroit into an excited mass protest, Ford bowed to their indignant demonstrations and has agreed to bar the public from his store in the future.

The whole affair has brought out strikingly the absurdities and insanities of the present system and has opened up possibilities of something far better to thousands of persons.

Taking a leaf from his great system of mass production of automobiles, Ford established ten years ago a store for the benefit of his employees. The real reason for the Ford store was to keep down the cost of living to his employees in order to avoid raising their wages. The same method of mass activity and economy on a tremendous scale that made the Ford manufacturing enterprises the greatest example of mass production in the United States in years built up the largest retail grocery and provision store in the world. The sales rose to \$12,000,000 per year after he threw this store open to the public. Goods were handled in greatest quantities at bulk wholesale prices in the most economical manner possible, in which the customer did most of the work. Profits, says Ford, were held down to \$400,000 a year, or about 3 per cent.

The merchants of Michigan became thoroughly alarmed. With their war-like, competitive methods and small scale stores they could not compete with this new system of mass distribution.

Supreme Court Bans Boycott By Labor

(Cont. from Page 1)

held that the refusal of members of a union to handle or work on material made by nonunion labor is an illegal restraint of interstate trade and a violation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

The decision came in the case of twenty-three Indiana stone quarrying companies asking for an injunction against the Journeyman Stone Cutters Association of North America which had instructed its members not to handle the product of the appellant companies. The lower courts had denied the injunction, but in today's

decision the Supreme court reversed the finding. Justice Stone and Sandford concurred with the majority in separate opinions and Justice Brandeis and Holmes dissented.

Reverses Lower Court

In the original proceeding it was charged that the unions, in an attempt to bring about a "closed shop" in the industry, ordered its members, including 5,000 stone cutters, coppers and cutters, and others working on cut stone, throughout the United States and Canada, to refuse to handle stone quarried or cut by nonunion labor. Evidence was offered to show that pressure had been exerted upon contractors, builders and the members of other unions to further the scheme.

The majority opinion of the Supreme court held that while the union itself was undoubtedly legal and the end it sought to attain legal, the means adopted to secure the desired end was illegal. A number of earlier decisions of the court were cited.

The majority opinion, written by Mr. Justice Sutherland, held that, whatever the strikers' motives, they had "deliberately adopted a course of conduct which directly curtailed or threatened to curtail the natural flow of interstate commerce of a large proportion of building limestone, to the probable disadvantage of the public."

Brandeis and Holmes Dissent

Mr. Justice Brandeis, in his dissenting opinion, denied the similarity of the cases cited to the stone cutters' case and pointed out that the latter had not been charged with boycotting, picketing, trespass, breach of contract, violence, intimidation, fraud, or violence.

"On the contrary," declared Mr. Justice Brandeis, "they expressed entire willingness to cut and finish any stone except one which the plaintiffs except such stone as had been partially cut by men working in opposition to the association.

Creates Involuntary Servitude

"A large part of the plaintiffs' products, consisting of blocks, slabs, and sawed work, was not affected by the order of the union officials. The individual stone cutter was thus clearly innocent of wrongdoing unless it was illegal for him to agree with his fellow craftsmen to refrain from working on the 'scab' cut stone because it was an article of interstate commerce."

"If, on the undisputed facts in this case, asserted Justice Brandeis, 'refusal to work can be enjoined,' congress created, by the Sherman law and the Clayton act, an instrument of imposing restraints on labor which reminds us of involuntary servitude."

Sherman Law Upholds Trusts

The justice recalled the court's decision in the United States Steel corporation case, permitting "capitalistic combines" of the steel industry of the United States, dominating the trade through its vast resources, and the decision in the United States Shoe Machinery company case, permitting the combination of "practically the whole shoe machinery industry of the country, giving it a position of dominance over shoe manufacturers in America."

"It would, indeed, be strange," concluded Justice Brandeis, "if congress had by the same act willed to deny to members of a small craft of workmen the right to cooperate in simply refraining from work when that course was the only means of self-protection against a combination of militant and powerful employers."

The Ku Klux Klan movement in Indiana and a score of other states shows that the understanding and the spirit of democracy have broken down among a dangerously large section of the American people. It has broken down because it has no material basis in the present industrial system, which is essentially autocratic in its nature and consists in the despotic rule of a small class of powerful private owners.

We have tried to live the sham of political democracy and industrial autocracy until the majority of the people have lost all comprehension of democracy.

WE CANNOT CONTINUE ON THE PRESENT BASIS: WE MUST GO FORWARD TO INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, OR BACKWARD TO POLITICAL AUTOCRACY.

Big Corporations

Rolling in Wealth

NEW YORK—"The big corporations are getting richer and richer and shareholders of most of them are getting a big share of the prosperity they are enjoying," says the Wall Street Journal.

The 1926 report of five corporations show a total of \$720,161,158 cash and marketable securities at the end of last year, compared with \$629,415,830 at the close of the preceding year, a gain of \$91,062,328, or 15 per cent.

The corporations are United States Steel, General Electric, General Motors, American Telephone and Telegraph and Allied Chemicals.

At the close of 1922 these five corporations reported \$161,180,144 cash and marketable securities, so that the gain since then has been \$256,300,714, or 55 per cent.

"What applies to the above five companies in the matter of increased cash holdings, applies to scores of others," says the Wall Street Journal.

Ford's attitude and the attitude of Michigan merchants is characteristic of the present system. Under the present system the private owners consider only their own interests.

They go continually to the utmost lengths to perpetuate a system of criminal waste and artificial poverty in order to maintain their own incomes and power. This class of big plunders and little plunders along stand between the people and a great system of mass production and mass distribution that would produce abundant wealth for all. Some day we will have seen enough to slake them off from our backs.

Behind American Imperialism

(Editorial, Chicago Tribune)

across the Mexican war front has convinced me that the so-called Catholic revolution has failed because the revolutionists developed no leader and failed to make a close corporation of the revolution.

"From the start government secret

service men kept in close touch with every step of the revolution and sat at numerous revolutionary meetings. No arrests were made until the revolt burst forth and even then the police waited until the revolutionary leaders could be caught in the act of plotting a revolt. The revolution was anticipated and troops were held in readiness to suppress it.

"Even so, said swiftly, prominent revolutionaries leaders were arrested, court-martialed and shot. Troops moved along all the railroads of the trouble areas and all points of vantage. The revolutionists were prevented from descending from the hills, as they had intended."

Rulers Afraid to Fight

"The church leaders, landowners, rich merchants, and capitalists of the old conservative families and the aristocracy, who were interested vitally in a revolution, stood back and watched the moving of events, contributing, as always, sparingly to the funds for the revolt. The brunt of the task was left to the Indians and peasants and the agitators and exhorters who believed that discontent and artificially inspired revolt would necessarily result in a successful revolution. Meanwhile the minister of war was moving swiftly along the war front."

Further investigation showed that all attempts to corrupt Calles' army did fighting army had failed. The loyalty of this army purged of reactionary officers and drawn from the workers and peasants has made the boasted counter-revolution impossible.

A Real Workers' Army

Cornyn quotes a prominent army general as saying in explanation of this:

"The army has remained solidly with the government for the first time in Mexican history because it is the best organization Mexico has had since the days of Spanish rule," the general answered. "It has seven years of revolutionary tradition behind it. This prevents it from going into the hands of revolutionists. Gen. Obregon's army of more than 100,000 is not comparable with President Calles' army of 60,000 in discipline, army tradition and faithfulness to the reconstruction program of the government."

The De La Huerta revolt in the spring of 1921 carried with it a reactionary element forming 50 per cent of the army. While the revolution proceeded Gen. Obregon formed a new military aggregation out of the pro-government elements. When the revolt ended the army contained more than 100,000 men. This President Calles reduced to 80,000, retaining only the most competent and weeding out the incompetent, unscrupulous higher officers. The soldiers are educated in army schools and are inspired by army traditions and military faithfulness.

"Why haven't the revolutionists, as in the past revolt, tried to suborn the army officers?" I inquired.

"They would like to sweep away everything the army stands for," the officer said. "To do so, he has to work in secret. In the revolution, any party are gone who can find a common ground with the officers of the Calles army, who have nothing to gain from the ultra-conservative revolution."

Workers Stand Solidly

In his own manner this correspondent explains further how the dominance of the workers in the towns and cities has made the counter-revolution impossible. He says:

"As I passed through the various states I found state governments, city and town administrations and political organizations of a multiplicity of complexes behind President Calles. They form the new ruling class which has grown up since the overthrow of Porfirio Diaz in the spring of 1911."

"Guadalajara, like every other town through which I passed, is prairied with innumerable signs, each representing some organization that has sprung out of the seventeen years of revolution and reconstruction."

Here one finds labor organizations of various stripes and colors. They quarrel among themselves, but are solidly behind the government when it is threatened by the ultra-conservative revolt. Socialists, communists, agrarians, social upholders, and red and yellow labor organizations denounce one another, but they have come together in defense of the government in the face of the common danger.

"These societies and their members form the eyes and ears of the government in every city, town, and village of Mexico. This helps to explain why insurgents have not been able to suborn the army and induce the generals and city governments to betray the federal government and deliver their garrisons and cities over to the rebels."

The Influence of Alcohol on Type-Setting

I have pointed out in my book Prohibition at its Worst, (page 167) that the "real" wages of labor per hour, after making all due allowance for changes in the purchasing power of the dollar, increased 36 per cent between July, 1914, and January, 1925; also that most of this sudden increase came immediately after prohibition. Between 1892 and 1919, inclusive, the "real" wage remained almost stationary. The fluctuations never exceeded 4 per cent above or below the average level for those twenty-eight years (excepting only in 1897 when it was nearly 7 per cent above). Likewise, beginning with 1920, at a higher level, real wages have remained almost as uniform as form. This new level is 23 per cent above the old level.

Was it merely by coincidence that prohibition and higher wages came together? With the coming of prohibition wages rose suddenly from their old level, which had been kept without much change for a quarter of a century, to a new level where it

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Post War Socialist Thought

Nature of the Socialist State

In Six Articles

Article I

(The following interesting and highly instructive series of articles on the development of Socialist thought since the World War are from Dr. Laidler's new book on Post War Socialist Thought, which will be issued just what Socialistism is.)

—M. E. K.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler

Since the World War, aside from discussing the socialist versus the communist method of arriving at a cooperative system of industry, socialists have been giving much attention to the nature of the socialist state toward which the international labor movement is directing its forces.

Webb's Picture of a Socialist Society

One of the most thorough of the attempts made to picture a cooperative commonwealth, in the light of recent developments, is found in Sidney and Beatrice Webb's A Constitution of the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain (1920). This volume was written in response to a request of the International Socialist Bureau that the constituent socialist organizations submit to the International Congress a suggested constitution for a nation devoted to organizing its life upon socialist principles.

Fundamental to socialism, according to the Webbs, is democracy, which has for its object not merely the negative one of preventing individuals or classes from exercising powers contrary to the desires of the people at large, but also "the positive one of obtaining for all the people in the fullest degree practicable, that development of personality and that enlargement of faculty and desire dependent on the assumption of responsibility and the exercise of will."

Spiritual Value of Democracy

"People," declare the Webbs, "have general" as saying in explanation of this:

"The army has remained solidly with the government for the first time in Mexican history because it is the best organization Mexico has had since the days of Spanish rule," the general answered. "It has seven years of revolutionary tradition behind it. This prevents it from going into the hands of revolutionists. Gen. Obregon's army of more than 100,000 is not comparable with President Calles' army of 60,000 in discipline, army tradition and faithfulness to the reconstruction program of the government."

Editor's Note

In the American Appeal of February 12, we ran a symposium on Prohibition, written briefly for the Prohibition Amendment, by Major Dan W. Morgan of New York, and by Judge Jacob Parken of New York, in favor of the repeal of the amendment, and one by the Socialistic Department, a revised further contribution on this subject from Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, formerly president of the American Economic Association, and one of the most prominent statisticians, health and educational authorities in this country. His article is worthy of careful reading and will be followed by others on the pros and cons of prohibition from competent observers.

—H. W. L.

By Irving Fisher

(Professor of Economics, Yale University)

Practically the only argument advanced against prohibition is that it is an infringement of "personal liberty."

On the other side we have arguments of welfare based on facts.

If, in this short article, we dismiss the question of "personal liberty" with the mere suggestion that the brewers are organized to the extent of 8 per cent and increase the time required for heavy mountain marches, for example 22 percent, and impair the accuracy of rifle shooting under severe army tests, to the extent of 10 percent.

Two or three glasses of 4 per cent beer, or half a pint of 10 per cent wine, were found to impair the perception and attention needed to look around, especially in seafaring, automobile drivers, mechanics, and others in military and civil life.

These facts are very important for labor, if labor wants to hold what it has got. It is now understood by labor as well as employers and recently well stated by William Green that wages, especially real wages, are dependent on productivity.

In the long run we all get more food, shoes, clothes, shelter, amusements and so on if we produce more of these things.

Henry Ford has raised wages because his methods have increased the productivity of labor. In consequence not only is he richer but millions of workers are less poor. I am not thinking only of workers in the Ford factories. Every worker who buys a Ford or rides in one is benefited. His real wages are increased because his money will buy more. By such increased productivity workers benefit both as wage earners and as wage spenders. And not—only, by any means, but part—of the increased productivity is due to prohibition.

Return of Beer Harmful to Labor

The return of beer would be a bad thing for labor. It would slow down his productivity, lower his wages and reduce his buying power.

Of course the clamor for a Light Wines and Beer Amendment really means the return of beer rather than wines.

The laboring man must not be forgotten by silly talk and forget that "of course we don't want the saloons back, but we want light wines and beer."

The return of "light wines" and beer or of beer alone means the return of the saloon. There must be a place to sell beer. Beer means pretzels and hot dogs, and brass railings and sawdust, and spittoons, and

all the trappings of the saloon. The

ministration of industries under socialism, the Webbs again draw attention to the fact that all industry will not be uniform. While most of the industries will be socialized, there will be a number of "unsocialized" businesses, such as the whole range of individual production, horticulture, peasant agriculture and artistic handicrafts; the purely personal vocations of the poet and artist; the prosecution of many minor industries and services that may be most conveniently conducted on an individual basis; possibly the experimental production of some new inventions and devices not to mention the cooperative organization of religious rites and observances.

Should Compensation Be Paid?

Criminal Waste and Mismanagement In Coal

Factors Behind Present Attempted Wage Cut and Lockout

Editor's Note

The pitiful waste of private operation of the soft coal mines of the country is vividly portrayed in bulletin just published by the New York State Federation of Progressive Women. The bulletin first analyzes the present coal situation, the demands of the miners for a maintenance of their wages, hours and working conditions, and sets forth the claim of the miners of Illinois that the "day men" are only working 140 to 150 days a year, and make little more than \$1000 annually. We here reprint what it says on the question of waste.

—H. W. L.

There are now approximately 10,000 shipping mines in the soft coal fields. This does not include the small mines or "wagon" mines which serve their immediate localities.

One Mine in Every Three Should be Closed

The industry has a capacity from 70 to 90 per cent in excess of the country's need. From 1890 to date the industry has at all times stood ready to produce much more coal than the country could use. (Page 56—The Case of Bituminous Coal, By Hamilton and Wright, Macmillan.)

Reduction of Waste Under Federal Fuel Administration

Most experts are agreed that one mine in every three should not have been opened. Miners are idle on the average, one third of every year. It is estimated that by new methods of machine mining, 211,000

miners in place of the 660,000 now employed, could produce enough soft coal to meet the nation's present demands.

Waste in Consumption

When the matter of the ruthless waste of men, and material arises, every citizen, whether a direct consumer of soft coal or not is immediately concerned. The one hundred and fifty million tons of coal burned annually under the boilers of railroads, locomotives are burned in criminal ovens which are still plentiful and up in smoke, valuable by-products (gas and ammonia) which could be used in one hundred and one ways.

Considering the value of the by-products of coal far, this is the equivalent of burning the corner drug store. Both mining and distribution are wasteful and antiquated. Under the present methods of mining, one-third of the coal is left in the ground in such shape that it can never be recovered. The "cross-hauling of coal," that is, shipping it up and down the country, often over coal fields that are much nearer the consumer than the shipping mine is extremely wasteful.

Waste in Human Life

The hazardous nature of coal mining kills some two thousand miners annually and injures between 30,000 and 150,000 a year. These hazards, together with the higher intelligence and skill of the union workers as compared with the non-union miners,

of coal from the mines in Southern Illinois to Chicago as it costs to produce the coal. It costs more to deliver a ton of coal from the car in Chicago to the bin of the consumer than it costs to mine the coal or to haul it from the mine to Chicago. If the facts were ascertained it might be found that it costs nearly as much to dump the ashes, cinders and clinkers from the basement of Chicago consumers as it costs to mine the coal originally and no one has ever figured the bills of most large American cities caused by the smoke nuisance.

Valuable By-products Lost Forever

In their report made for the Smithsonian Institute, two engineers, Gilbert and Pogue, found that there are in every ton of bituminous, fifteen hundred pounds of smokeless fuel similar in many respects to anthracite, ten thousand cubic feet of gas, twenty-two pounds of ammonium sulfate, two and one-half gallons of benzol and nine gallons of tar. These products, recoverable from a ton of coal have a value of three times the present retail price of a ton.

Under the present system of burning coal they are lost to us all forever.

Have the Operators Solution?

The Operators are apparently agreed that the soft coal industry has suffered from old fashioned competition. They are keen for consolidation of small mines into a few large groups, well financed and in a position to close down non-profit producing mines, thus reducing the total production. Some of the more extreme of the operators are for destroying the union altogether and establishing in its place company unions under the control of the separate corporations. Others insist that it is an advantage to deal with a responsible organization of workers

justify the present wages.

The miners insist that the average coal operator could effect more than enough savings through the elimination of waste in management, men and materials to maintain a decent American standard of wages. They point to the fact that bankruptcies have also occurred in the non-union fields and that costly mining disasters, due to the employment of unskilled and low-priced labor in those fields, are tragically common. They maintain that miners, engaged in a most hazardous occupation, earn but little more than the lowest paid wage earners in other and safer industries. That while the day wage is high, the earnings of union men, due to irregularity of employment, are not equal to \$2000 a year, which is much less than the budget drawn up by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to cover the minimum requirements of "health and decency" for American workers.

The Operators' Solution?

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able to sign long term contracts but this is on condition that the whole industry is organized. They believe that the introduction of modern factory methods into the mine will succeed in eliminating surplus miners and restoring some sort of regularity of employment together with a guarantee of a continuous supply of coal. Until these things are accomplished, however, they favor cutting wages.

The Miners' Solution

At the last convention of the United Mine Workers of America, held in January, 1927, the union confirmed its long held policy of nationalization of the mine as the only solution to the present problem. Not much weight, however, need be attached by the public to this demand. President Lewis has frequently expressed his indifference, if not his hostility, to any nationalization agitation.

It was mainly through his efforts that a report of the Nationalization Committee appointed by the miners to draw up a plan for the running of coal, was side-tracked. This report urged that the coal mines be taken over (with compensation to the owners) by the government; that the Secretary of Mines be appointed and that the industry be run by representatives of the public, the miners union and technical men. At this same convention, it was announced that plans were being formulated for a formidable organization campaign through the non-union fields. Apparently, the miners' leaders believe that much of the present confusion

in the industry will disappear if all the miners are organized.

The Public's Solution

In 1923, the United States Coal Commission appointed by President Harding, brought in a most voluminous report covering practically every phase of coal mining in this country. Few Americans have read that report, the making of which cost \$600,000 of the tax-payers' money.

All the facts needed for those who

would work out a solution for the coal industry are in that report, but they are in the main undigested, uncorrelated and difficult to dig out. From time to time, President Coolidge has urged that the Federal Government be given power to take control of coal distribution in case of a "national emergency," but Congress has made no progress with coal legislation. Bills have been proposed, and notably those proposed by representatives of the New York State, have merely compromised with the situation and made no attempts to come to grips with it. There has been some support on the part of progressive groups of the bill introduced by Senator Wheeler of Montana for the setting up of a United States Coal Corporation with jurisdiction over the anthracite industry and set up a board of directors of miners and representatives from the anthracite consuming States. On the whole, however, the public has been left by its representatives to the mercy of profiteering operators on the one hand and implacable union officials on the other.

First, we should realize the conditions in the coal industry. Freight rates established for fuel, rather than economic reasons, of financial and engineering in antiquated methods of distribution and barbary industrial relations in the non-union fields—all these combined with the many wastes described above make the coal industry worst conducted of all our large enterprises. It is the tragic waste that everyone suffers for the innocent by-standers and wasters as well.

We should do all in our power to break down the barriers which operate and miners have agreed between the consuming and this basic industry. We insist that coal is touched with a public interest as to longer a matter for pernicious industrial struggles between management and men. We should insist that, on the vast mass of facts at hand, experts work out an intelligent plan for a continuous economical supply of coal. We insist that while the operators entitled to a fair return on their investment—and no more—the miners likewise entitled to a wage in the healthy and decent living conditions and the protection of his right to collective bargaining. We should be blinded by the current propaganda against "nationalization" but should carefully examine into the merits of this proposal together with the relative merits of the United States Coal Corporation plan and the present system of unregulated com-

Industrial Worker Challenges Conservative Farmer Attitude

Editor's Note

The following article was written by a worker in industry. Is it entirely fair to the farmers? We would like to have some farmer reply to it.

—M. E. K.

By C. O. Parsons

(Teele, Utah)

Since the war the American farmer, instead of sharing in the increase of the nation's wealth, has lost at least \$50,000,000,000 in deflated and depreciated property values and low produce prices.

At the time of the war the American workingman owned the same amount of wealth that he does today, namely, nothing. I am positive that taken as a whole the American workingman owned less than nothing, but is doing notwithstanding that his productivity has increased by leaps and bounds, thanks to his efficiency and inventive genius.

No one ever heard of a business man or a financier inventing anything, unless it was a new lie or new excuse for profiteering. The complex machinery of industry today, invented by workingmen, requires the cooperation of vast armies of workers.

Contrary to the prevailing belief that a few financial geniuses were responsible for the tremendous efficiency of cooperative production, the workingman's natural desire to improve on the prevailing methods of production is the compelling force behind the increasing tendency toward more efficient cooperation of many workers in production. A financier or exploiter of inventions is merely a parasite who reaps where the workingman sows.

The American workingman is the cheapest laborer that ever existed. Today his productive capacity is many times the productivity of the worker ten centuries ago, yet today he possesses even less wealth than the worker of that distant date. Then the artisan-worker owned his own shop. He received then just enough to replenish worn out tissue and reproduce his kind. The compensation of the worker today is measured by the same standard.

A worker's economic condition must be measured by the value of his product and the proportion he receives for its own use. If he is now ten times as productive as he was a thousand years ago, then he follows that he has thousand times the standard of living. True the worker today may live and eat a little better and enjoy a few more comforts of life, but that is not germane to the question, the fact remains that he now enjoys much less of the wealth he creates by hand and brain than he received then.

Labor and Prohibition

(Cont. from Page 3)

return of beer means that all of the restaurants which now surround the factory and in which men now meet to eat and discuss things of everyday life, will be converted once more into drinking centers.

The saloon means "treating" whereby a man means that he has to let his pals drink up his baby's shoes and his wife's overcoat. Is he enjoying that "personal liberty?" And is his wife or baby enjoying it? The saloon means more drunkenness. When a man is drunk he has not much real liberty to do anything.

The quickest and safest way for labor to reach a new standard of living and real liberty to enjoy life is through prohibition.

It is hard to see how, in the face of all the facts, labor can want to bring back former conditions merely because which man can afford to buy "good" liquor. If the rich man likes his ally "liberty" to poison himself, let him have it. Why should the poor man worry?

Farmers Headed For Peasantry, Meredith Warns

Unless the American farmer is able to obtain a fair price for his produce America is headed toward peasantry in her farmer class, such as exists in Europe. E. T. Meredith, former secretary of agriculture, asserted yesterday in an address before 200 members of the United States Egg Society, at the Chicago Mercantile exchange.

Fundamental conditions or agriculture effect the entire country, he said, "for when prices are right, profit is possible and the farmer can purchase." When the farmer cannot buy, manufacture is cut down and labor is therefore affected to zero as it was in 1914, yet the farmer has been bought by the capitalist press to envy the wage-worker of his "high wages."

Which has the farmer's more

Harvester Trust Reaps Bigger Crop Than Farmers

Record profits fell to wealthy stockholders in the harvester trust as re-

sumed of its 1926 dipping into the skinning purse of farmers the world over, it appears from the annual report of the Int'l. Harvester Co. The operating profit was \$24,956,967, leaving \$22,658,591 for the stockholders after all deductions, including dividends, a total of \$47,773,693 on an actual investment of not more than \$60,000,000.

The operating profits of Int'l. Harvester and the net profit for stockholders year by year since 1912 were:

Year	Gross operating profit	Net profit to stockholders
1912	\$22,926,042	\$18,395,597
1913	23,641,299	16,079,778
1914	19,536,053	11,725,826
1915	20,795,089	12,296,577
1916	25,603,821	18,819,258
1917	30,417,210	12,658,871
1918	31,648,857	14,945,825
1919	25,786,198	12,608,726
1920	23,160,075	16,855,353
1921	11,281,387	4,140,919
1922	11,417,484	5,840,768
1923	18,237,827	10,274,376
1924	23,632,236	13,037,395
1925	28,596,067	19,171,240
1926	34,546,812	22,658,891

NEW YORK—A bill to prohibit child labor and afford protection to children was literally killed by ridicule heaped upon it by the capitalist lackeys in the Missouri state senate, says Wiley H. Swift, Acting Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

When the bill came up for con-

sideration in the Senate various amendments, which virtually nullified the bill were humorously offered, and then adopted. "Smart" statements that a birth certificate was unnecessary because "the presence of the child was sufficient evidence of its birth" or that "its age might be determined by its teeth" appealed apparently to the sense of humor of the legislators, but the people of Missouri, before joining in the smile, should consider Missouri's rank in child labor legislation as revealed by the Missouri Women's Legislative Committee.

This piece of criminal buffoonery

has received the following cable from Canton, China, inviting American labor organizations to send delegates to the Pan-Pacific Labor congress which opens under official Australian and Chinese labor auspices in Canton May 1. The cable reads:

"The Trades Union Congress of the Commonwealth of Australia has authorized the All-China Federation of Labor to call a Pan-Pacific Labor congress to meet at Canton May 1, 1927, under the joint official auspices of the two labor organizations. The trade union organizations of the United States are invited to send as many delegates as their resources permit."

"Invitations have also been sent to the labor bodies of Canada, Mexico, the South American countries on the Pacific, the Philippines, Japan, Korea, India, Indonesia and to all European labor federations having connections with the far east through colonial or other affiliations including those of Great Britain, France, Holland and the Soviet Union."

The questions that will be dealt with at the conference, the cable announces, include imperialism, threats of war in the Pacific countries, the International trade union movement, international regulations regarding wages and hours, immigration and other relations between the labor movements of the Pacific countries.

British-American Entente in China Admitted in London

London—Do the American people appreciate that their government is "up to its neck" in the Chinese situation and that it is rapidly getting into a position where it will be almost impossible to back out?

If the American people do not see that, it is because the State Department and the newspapers are not frankly placing the facts before them.

Here in London it is taken for granted that the British Foreign Office has a complete understanding with the American State Department and that our warships and marines will assist in enforcing the "drastic measures" which Great Britain contemplates taking against the Chinese.

Just how drastic those measures will be will depend largely on Japan. Tokyo has adopted a policy of "watchful waiting," but all the influences of British diplomacy are being exerted to induce the little yellow men to come into the deal.

France continues to stay out and apparently has definitely decided not to use coercive tactics.

As things stand now, Baldwin's

Tory government is prepared to present certain "demands" to the Chinese. If those demands are granted, foreign business interests will retain their grip on China, the Cantonese dream of a new China will be shattered, and foreign employers will continue to exploit cheap Chinese labor.

If the demands are refused, then the naval and military strength of Great Britain and the United States will be used against the Cantonese. Just what form the demonstration will take cannot be stated at this time.

Pan-Pacific Labor Called to Canton to Anti-War Meet

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TORONTO, Canada.—Although the great publicly-owned power system covering the province of Ontario, Canada, sold electricity to the people at the lowest price in the world during the fiscal year just ended, it closed the year with a net surplus of \$656,413.34, after providing for all expenses and necessary fixed charges, says the annual report of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, presented in the legislature last week.

The report also shows that the province and cooperating municipalities have an investment in power undertakings and hydro railways totaling \$203,442,769.99. There was an increase of 100,000 horsepower in the generating capacity of the commission's plants over 1925, which enabled the commission to provide for all power demands and to increase the efficiency of the service.

When the report was